5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban CC6

The *tempuan* or general thoroughfare is between the *bilieh* and the *ruai*. It is three feet in width and is paved with wood. It is furnished with a ladder or notched stick by which to reach the loft, a family mortar where the women pound their paddy with wooden pestles to free it from the husk, and a pile or two of firewood reared by the men for use inside. This passage is also used by the women to winnow their rice in, feed their dogs, and attend to their chickens, and by the men to wash the dirt off their feet when they come home from their work. The wall of the *tempuan* is sometimes elaborately painted in various patterns, and the spears of the family are thrust into the skirting board so as to be handy.

The *ruai* or verandah is in front of the *tempuan* and is as nearly as possible the same size as the *bilieh* from which it differs principally in being open on all sides and without any partition. It is therefore a cooler and more agreeable place and as such is frequented by both sexes for the purposes of conversation, discussion, and indoor pursuits. Female visitors are usually received in the *bilieh*, but male visitors are invariably received in the *ruai* and only enter the bilieh when invited to do so to be introduced to the women and to share the meals. They sleep in the *ruai* along with the boys and bachelors, and sit there all day when they have nothing better to do, conversing with the head of the family and chewing betel. The floor is carpeted with thick and heavy mats of cane interlaced with narrow strips of beaten bark. Over these are spread other mats of thinner and finer texture. There is a small fireplace between this and the next *ruai* for the men to warm themselves at when they get up, as they usually do, in the chill of the morning, before the sun has risen above the trees; the fire is allowed to go out in the middle of the day, but is revived towards the evening when it is getting dark, but still too early to light the torches.

Some *ruais* are provided with a *panggan* or bedstead with plank sides in one corner of the room for the men to sleep in, but this is not always the case. If the head of the family has made it for his own use and if he be a chief or rich man he will fix his gongs of various kinds around it for the sake of show; his weapons will be within reach and his war dress will hang from the roof where it can be seen to best advantage —a skull cap of wickerwork with its nodding plumes, and a skin jacket decorated with the tail feathers of the war bird of the tribe. But the most valuable ornament in the *ruai* by far is

quarter with rice and fill up with water and when it simmers cover it with leaves. Before the arrival of Europeans the Dyaks used earthen *prions* made by themselves."

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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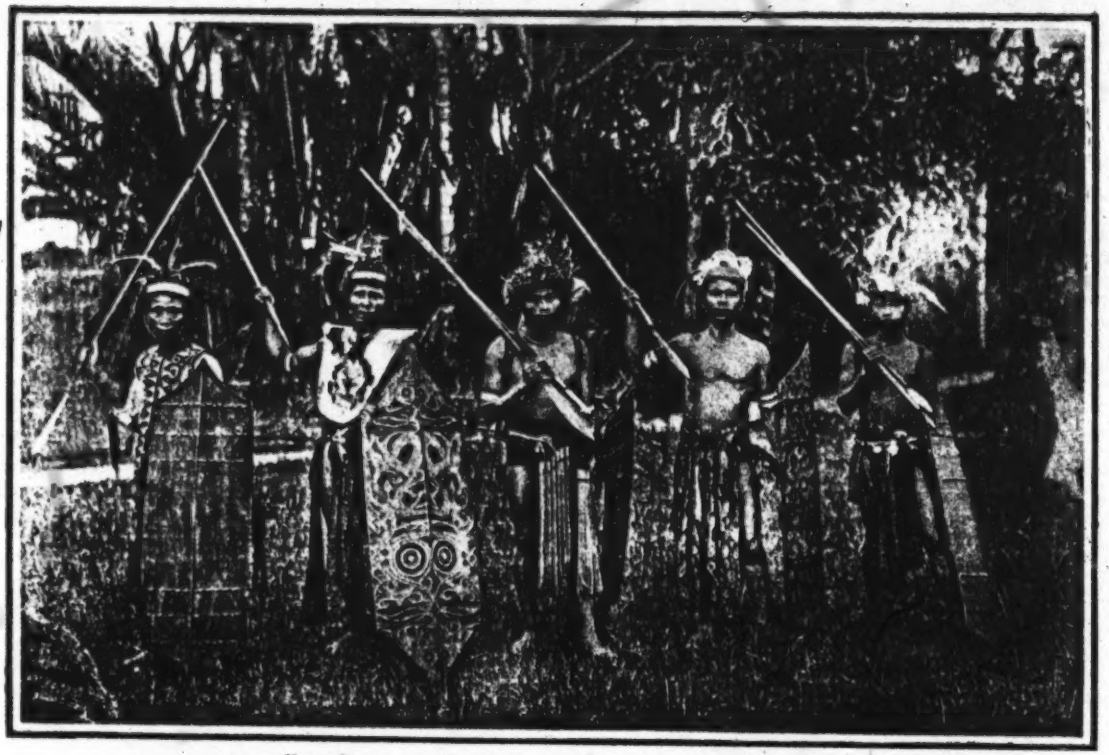
A Dyak Girl Dressed in all her Finery to Attend a Feast

She has in her hair a comb decorated with silver filigree work. Round her neck is a necklace of beads. The rings round her body are made of hoops of cane, round which little brass rings are arranged close together so that none of the cane is visible. These hoops are worn next to the body above the waist, and over the petticoat below. The silver coins fastened to this brass corset, and worn as belts round it, are the silver coins of the country. The petticoat is a broad strip of cloth, sewn together at the ends and having an opening at the top and bottom. It is fastened at the waist with a piece of string.

[facing p. iii]

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

[facing p. 74]



FIVE DYAKS IN WAR DRESS WITH SPEARS AND SHIELDS

The spears are made of steel and have shafts of hard heavy wood. The shields are each cut out of one piece of wood, and are often coloured with some fantastic design. Sometimes, as in the case of the man's shield on the left, cross pieces of cane or wood are fixed in the shield to prevent it splitting. The second man on the left is wearing a large sleeveless jacket, or collar, of skin to protect his shoulders from wounds.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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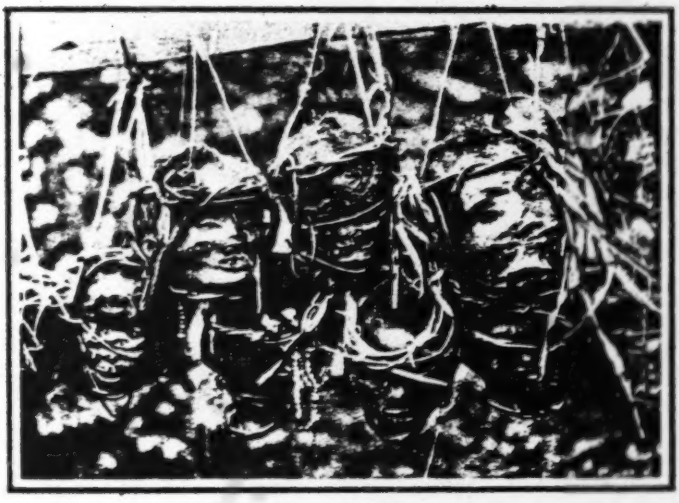
A DYAK IN WAR DRESS

Holding up his shield in readiness to receive the attack of the enemy. He is holding his sword in his right hand. The shield is decorated with human hair.



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HUMAN HEADS

The heads of slain enemies are smoked and preserved and looked upon as valuable possessions. The above is a bunch of old heads as they appear hanging from the rafters of a Dyak house.

[FACING p. 78]

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[Facing p. 124]

A Dyak Wedding

The bride is seated in the middle with a large filigree silver comb in her hair. The bridegroom is seated on her right, and her mother on her left. The old man on the right is the "Master of Ceremonies." Before him, covered with a native cloth, is the basket containing the pieces of split betel-nut, which are examined to see if the marriage will be a happy one.

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7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

her to perform that office. The bride, therefore, goes into the room of some female friend living in the house, and there awaits the coming of her mother-in-law; the husband meanwhile sits down on a mat in the open veranda outside his mother's room.

The lady, having ascertained the whereabouts of her daughter-in-law, goes and fetches her, and brings her into the room. She bids her sit down on a mat spread for the purpose. Then she goes out to her son in the veranda, and leads him in, and tells him to sit by his wife's side. When they are seated side by side, the mother waves a live fowl over her son and daughter-in-law with a hastily muttered invocation for future health and prosperity.

The respect that Dyaks are required to pay to the father-in-law and mother-in-law is far greater than they have to pay to their own parents.

It is considered a terrible crime for a man to mention the names of his wife's parents, and he dare not disobey their commands. A young man marrying an only child and living with her parents has generally a hard time of it, because he has to give way in everything to the wishes of his wife's parents. In the same way a girl who marries an only son, and lives with his parents, has often an unhappy time, being continually ordered about and scolded by her mother-in-law. I have known cases where husband and wife have separated simply because the mother-in-law has made the life of the wife unbearable.

For the wedding, and for the subsequent visit which the bride pays to her husband's home, she decks herself out in all the finery she possesses or can borrow from her friends. Her wedding-dress consists of a short petticoat

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

585 of Dyak woven cloth which reaches to her knees. Along
292 the bottom edge of this there are sewed several rows of tinsel and of silver coins, below which probably hang some rows of hawk-bells, which make a tinkling sound as she moves. Round her waist are several coils of brass or silver chain, and two or three belts made of dollars or other silver coins linked together.

From her hips upwards, as far as her armpits, she wears a corset formed by threading upon split cane a great number of small brass rings, arranged so closely together as completely to hide the cane. To this corset may be
585 fixed two or three bands of silver coins. Her armlets of
301 brass or silver extend as far up as her elbow. As many rings as she possesses are on her fingers, and she wears necklaces of small beads, worked in very beautiful patterns, and finished off with a tassel of beads, or else a large number of big silver or brass buttons strung together round her neck. Her ears are decorated with filigreed studs of silver gilt, with a setting of scarlet cloth behind the filigree work to show them off.

In her hair is a towering comb of silver filigree work, to which are attached a number of silver spangles, which
[302] glitter with every movement of her head. She wears her hair in a knot into which are stuck a number of large brass hair-pins decorated with beads and little tags of red and
[292] yellow and white cloth. She possesses a bright-coloured jacket of Dyak woven cloth; but she does not wear it; it is slung over her right shoulder.

585 After this detailed description of the bride's dress, it is
292 disappointing to learn that the bridegroom takes no special pains to ornament his person. The men wear a great deal of finery when they attend a feast, or when they go out on the warpath, but on the occasion of his

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

wedding the bridegroom takes no extra trouble about his apparel.

I have been present at a Dyak wedding more than once, and what struck me most was the perfunctory manner in which everything was done. No one seemed to listen much to what the Master of Ceremonies had to say; all sat round talking and laughing as the mood suited them. The examining of the basket containing the pieces of split betel-nut was not awaited with any anxiety. Everything seemed to be done because it was the custom, and for no other reason.

Nearly every Sea Dyak is married, and it is very unusual to meet a bachelor above the age of twenty-five. The exception to this is among the Skrang Dyaks, among whom one often sees an unmarried man over forty years of age. The expression *Bujang Skrang*—"a Skrang bachelor"—means an old bachelor.

A man rarely marries a woman who has an illegitimate child. But children are very much desired, and the Dyaks have a great horror of being childless. Intercourse often takes place between those who have been betrothed, but not formally married, simply to ascertain if the marriage will be fruitful. At the first signs of the desired result the marriage ceremony takes place.

Both sexes marry at an early age. The young men marry when about eighteen to twenty years of age, and the girls at sixteen or seventeen, though sometimes marriage is postponed till later. They frequently separate by mutual consent, and nothing is thought of it if the couple be childless; but it is very seldom that anything of the kind occurs if there are children.

Among the Dyaks no man has more than one wife. Polygamy is considered very displeasing to the gods, and

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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COCK FIGHTING

A rehearsal. Two Dyak youths matching their cocks in friendly contest.

[FACING p. 210]

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THREE DYAK GIRLS DRESSED IN THEIR FINERY TO ATTEND A FEAST

The girls on the right and left wear collars worked with beads and coloured threads. They are all wearing ear pendants and belts made of silver coins.

[FACING p. 212]

remaung, "tiger-cats"; all are typical conventions of these animals. Between the spaces of the tiger-cats are various *burong*; *anak lachau*, "young grass lizards" (pl. XII, *e*); *engkatak*, "frog" (pl. XIII, *d*); and *igi bras*, "grains of uncooked rice".

The narrow vertical bands, which are transverse on the sleeves, contain various birds, including *kengkang lang*, "the striped kite"; *burong belingkian*, "argus pheasant", with its long tail feathers (pl. IX, *e*); *burong besugu*, "bird with comb" (pl. VII, *p*); *burong entepa*, "bird with outstretched wings" (pl. VII, *q*, *r*); *burong buah bangkit*, "bird on *bangkit* fruit" (pl. VIII, *c*), but this is very like a form of *burong entepa* and there is no indication of the conventional lozenge-shaped *bangkit* fruit.

It looks as if the cloth from which the back and sleeves of this coat has been made was originally woven for a *bidang*, but the front portions have characteristic *kengkang lang* in the two *burong* stripes and a very broad one between shrew designs which are covered on the outside with a band of red flannel. The only definite example of this type of *kengkang lang* on any *bidang* in our collection is 35.884.

Z.2342. This jacket is called "*kalambi ara*, striped coat", which is a very good description. There are broad white and dull indigo stripes at the sides and centre of the back and the space between has three narrow horizontally striped black and white bands with crimson stripes on each side of them, alternating with composite ones of all three colours about 1 in. in width. A very coarse needle-woven or weft-mosaic pattern of vertical lozenges in black, white, red and yellow decorates the hem at the back and this is finished off by a row of small tassels, consisting of bunches of cotton ends tied in with the bunched ends of the warps.

Z.2341. A woman's reddish brown coat with narrow simple and composite stripes of purple and white, having broader white purple and black stripes at the sides. There is a rather coarse pattern of triangles darned in white at the bottom of the back, edged with a row of double twining in black and white. The end of the back of the jacket is finished off with small cotton tassels in red, yellow, black and white, tied on by bunches of warp ends.

35.904. The red cloth of which this *kalambi* is made is finely woven and is 19¼–19½ in. (48·8–49·5 cm.) wide, having groups of coloured warp stripes at each side.

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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Most of the back and the front portions of the jacket are elaborately decorated with anthropomorphic designs, and the sides are decorated with groups of coloured stripes between which are zoomorphs (figs. 19, 21).

These patterns, which are in blue, white and orange, may have been produced by either of two methods, embroidery or the use of free or floating spools. If spools have been used, a principle which is simple becomes elaborate in the actual working, for taking the white portion of each design, it seems to need two spools for its production, used in different ways, e.g. to work the outline of a lozenge one spool would be used for each side, but for a solid vertical line the two would be used alternately, the threads of one appearing above a throw of weft, the second below; the indigo parts of the pattern could be produced by single spools carrying a group of three or four untwisted threads.

If this is the method which has been employed, each pattern being picked out on the warp with the free spools, a wonderfully accurate effect has been produced.

The same difficulty would not be experienced if embroidery were the method adopted, and it therefore seems most probable that the needle was the only tool used. The fineness and regularity of the work are not at all out of keeping with other embroidered work, e.g. the *sirat* ends, and with the general accuracy of workmanship in other Iban crafts.

Whichever method was used, a fresh thread has been introduced for each little patch of colour and the reverse is exactly similar in effect to the obverse.

The garment is, in shape and construction, similar to those previously described, except that the whole of the coat appears to have been enlarged; the width has been increased by the insertion of a piece of imported red cotton cloth in the side seams, the sleeves have been lengthened by a similar insertion at the shoulder seam and both front and back have been lengthened by a piece 5 in. in depth—an argument in favour of the descent of the jacket from one person to another. On the front the joining has been concealed by a band of stitching, the centre being worked in gold thread with border lines of yellow chain-stitch. At the back the joining is hidden by the border of red and yellow flannel which surrounds the badge.

The badge (fig. 21) consists of three parallel, horizontal bands, the outer

ones of gold thread and the central one of white and red thread. The designs, which reproduce patterns plaited (*anyam*) in mats, are worked in the brocade method, i.e. the weft threads being loosely carried across the back of the cloth until needed to form a portion of the pattern.

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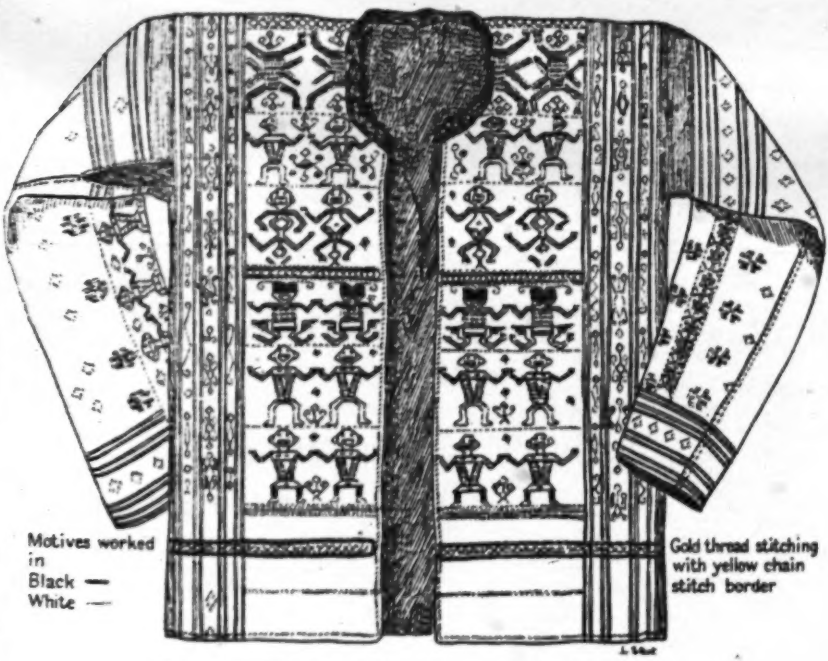

Fig. 19. Front of an embroidered *manang bali kalambi* 35.904.

At the bottom of the badge there is a fringe of black and white beads; the beads are threaded on the warp ends, which are then finished off with a knot.

The neck of the jacket is bound by printed cotton of foreign manufacture.

The cloth of which the jacket is made is, as usual, one with a warp surface, in which there are 180 to 204 ends to the inch, grouped in threes. There are

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12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

292 26 to 30 weft picks to the inch, but as three parallel, untwisted threads are
286 carried by the spool, there are really about 90 weft threads to the inch.
292 The chief interest of the coat, however, lies in the patterns and their
X531 meanings.

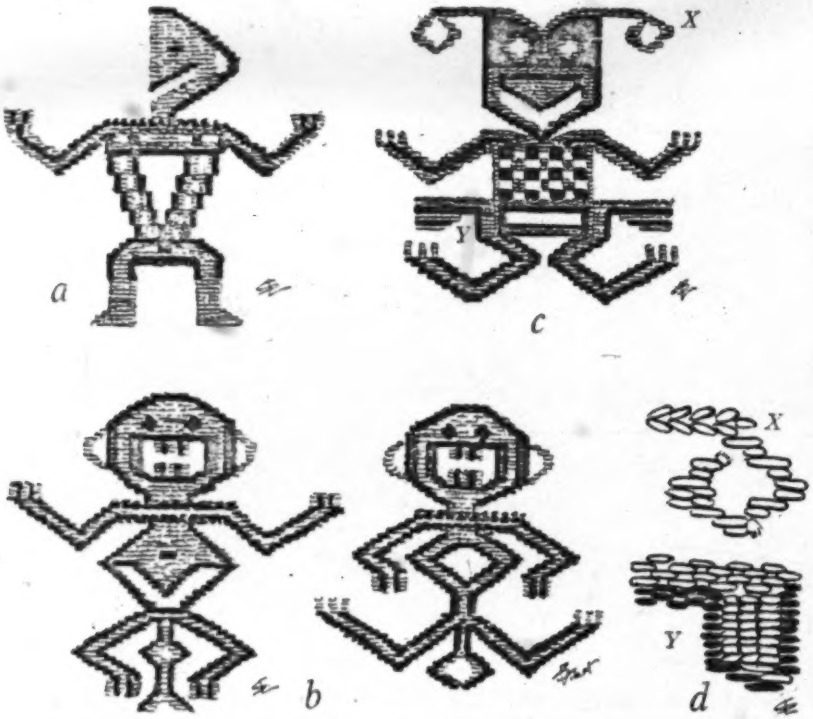

Fig. 20. Anthropomorphic designs on front of *manang bali* jacket 35.904: *a*, second row, figure with half a head and no teeth, see fig. 22 *a*; *b*, third row, presumably these male and female figures are *engkaramba manang bali*, "a *manang* who acts as a woman"; *c*, fourth row, *balu menjagu*, "widower"; *d*, enlargement of parts of *c* showing arrangement of stitches.

The figures in the top row of the front of the coat (fig. 19) are labelled *kengkang kelabong*, this may be translated as striped scorpion. The human figures in the second row (figs. 20, *a*; 22, *a*) are very similar to those in the fifth and sixth rows, except that in the sixth row the legs are

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blue and not white as in all the others. The figures in the sixth row are labelled *gambar mensia*, representations of a person, or *engkaramba anak orang entepa*, a young man with outstretched arms, and presumably these names apply also to the other two rows. Only half of the face is embroidered in the outer figures of the second row (fig. 20, *a*) and this is labelled *jari engkatak*, hand of frog; probably some mistake has occurred. The human figures in the third row are alternately male and female and are on the whole similar to those in the fourth and sixth rows on the back of the jacket.

A narrow pattern of hexagons divides the third from the fourth row. It is labelled *kembong tikup*, to close a swelling; the stitchery was used to flatten a looseness or crease in the cloth, hence its name.

The figures in the fourth row (fig. 20, *c*) are labelled *engkaramba balu menyagu*, we do not know why they are termed "widower"; they appear to wear a large mask (Hose and McDougall, II, pl. 151, give a photograph of "Kenyah dayongs wearing masks"); the *dayong* of the Kenyah and Kayan are the equivalent of the Iban *manang*, they also are soul-catchers and play a large part in the ceremonies connected with death. We do not know what the wing-like extensions from the waist signify; perhaps they represent the swinging-out of the dress worn owing to a turning movement of the dancer.

Among the numerous designs at the sides of the jacket are: *burong lelayang*, a swallow (pl. IX, *b*); *burong jagi*, which may represent a bird in flight (pl. IX, *i*); *anak burong*, young bird (pl. IX, *j*); *kukut lang*, talon of a kite (pl. X, *h*) (but a somewhat similar device is labelled *daun entibap*, "leaf of the arenga palm", pl. XXII, *e*); other designs are: *burong buah bangkit*, *burong bekarong*, *burong sawang prut*, and *lelingkok semberai* (? *semerai*) *sungei*, zigzagging across a river.

There are six rows of human figures on the back of the coat (fig. 21). The first row shows each man (who has no teeth) wearing a chequered coat and carrying something under his flexed arms. The men are labelled *gajah meram engkaramba* (*antu*) and the object under the arm is called *telor gajah* (*telor* is the Malay word for egg) (fig. 22, *b*). There are no elephants in Sarawak, so the Iban are not likely to be acquainted with them, but wild elephants (introduced?) exist in north Borneo. The "egg" is obviously incorrect, but it may be a suggestion of something mysterious and belonging to the spirit-world.

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

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Of great importance, but very rarely observed in modern times, is the *gawai gajah*, "elephant feast", which can only be held by a particularly successful war leader who has obtained a large number of heads. Offerings and incantations are made to Singalang Burong, who is the God of the

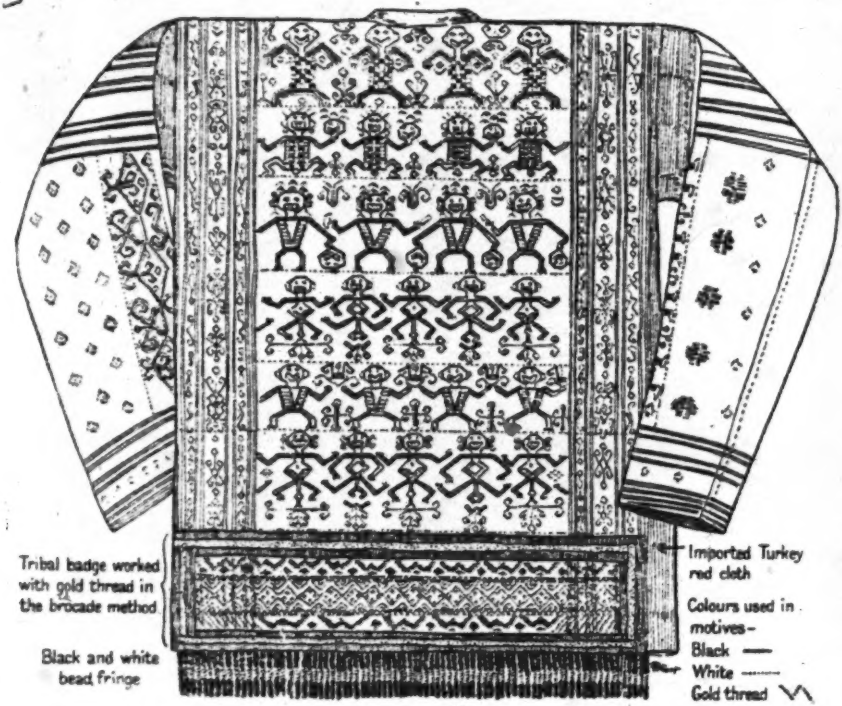

Fig. 21. Back of *manang bali kalambi* 35.964. Red cloth embroidered in black, white and orange, with a badge worked in the brocade method.

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Heavens and of war. The wooden figure of an elephant is placed on the top of a long pole planted in the ground and to this figure offerings are made (Gomes, 1911, p. 215). It seems probable that the elephant motive is an imperfectly assimilated foreign conception—perhaps of Indian origin. It is, however, possible that it may be reminiscent of a time when their ancestors

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may have been familiar with elephants. The point requires elucidation by local investigation.

The figures in the second row are also clothed in a chequered garment;

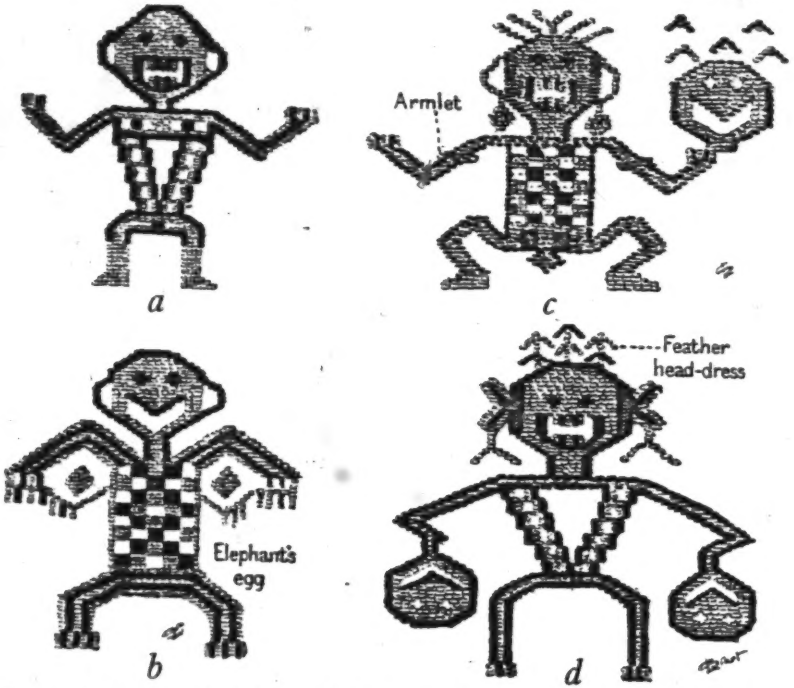

Fig. 22. Anthropomorphic designs on back of *manang bali* jacket 35.904: *a*, inner figure of second row on front of jacket, similar to the figures of rows 5 and 6, and rather similar to those of the fifth row on the back, though these have no teeth; *b*, first row of back, *gajah meram engkaramba* (*antu*), "man's ghost or spirit"; *c*, second row of back, *orang brani*, "brave man"; *d*, third row of back, *engkaramba bekatapu*, man wearing a feathered war-cap and carrying two old human heads, one of which is labelled *minching* (*labu*).

they wear ear-ornaments, perhaps feathers on their heads, and carry heads upright in their left hands (fig. 22, *c*). They are labelled *engkaramba* (*orang brani*), brave men. The possession of trophy heads is doubtless the reason for the adjective *brani*, brave.

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The third row shows figures, the heads of which are labelled *pala engkaramba bekatapu*, head with war cap, wearing the feathered war cap, *ujok ujok katapu*. One of the carried heads is labelled *minching* (*labu*). *Labu* signifies a gourd, and it is possible that it is a gourd with holes for eyes and a slit for the mouth, which is used as a substitute for a head. The attitudes of the figures and the changed position of the heads in the last two rows suggest that they represent a head-hunting dance.

The fourth and sixth rows contain alternate male and female figures similar to those of the third row on the front of the jacket, but in these two rows there is below each figure a *kukut burong*, "claws of a bird". The males have a long line with curled ends passing through the glans penis, which evidently represents a *palang*. According to Brooke Low (Ling Roth, *J.A.I.*, XXII, 1892 (1893), p. 45) the custom of perforating the glans for the permanent insertion of a short rod with a knob at each end, *palang*, was adopted by the Iban from the Kayans. The head of a male figure in the fourth row is labelled *pala engkaramba manang bali*, the head of a *manang bali*, and a male figure in the sixth row is called *engkaramba manang bali*.

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The figures in the fifth row are labelled *gambar mensia*, but the head of one of them is called *pala engkaramba*, head of an *engkaramba*; these are essentially similar to the figures in the fifth row on the front of the jacket, except that they have no teeth.

The right sleeve has along its length five *engkaramba anak orang entepa* similar to those on the front and back of the jacket, and also designs: *tabor mata puna*, scattered eyes of pigeons, and *tabor bunga janggat*, scattered flowers of the white pumpkin. The two latter are also scattered over the left sleeve, on which are two other patterns which we do not recall having seen elsewhere.

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This is evidently a very special kind of *kalambi*, which we may surmise was worn only on particular occasions. Concerning the human figures it is interesting to find that "only women belonging to ancient and honourable families may make *engkaramba* and even they must begin by making other patterns" (Haddon MS.). The *Sea Dyak Dictionary* gives "*Engkramba*, a representation of anything cut out of wood". They are used to prevent harm from coming to crops, etc.

We suggest that the jacket belonged to a *manang* and more probably to a *manang bali* ("*Bali*, v. to exchange, fade, s. alteration", *S.D.D.*). 292

The Iban believe that sickness is due to the presence of evil spirits in the patient's body, or to a spirit that has struck him or has enticed his soul out of his body; thus it naturally follows that the medicine men, or *manang*, must be able to charm the evil spirits away and persuade the soul to return to its earthly habitation. 763 756

The *manang* is next in importance amongst the Iban to the village chief, and sometimes the office is filled by the same man, especially if he is a faithful interpreter of dreams and successful in exorcizing spirits. The office of *manang* is hereditary, and may be held by either a man or a woman; it is extremely lucrative, as heavy sums are paid for the aid given in performing the ancient rites connected with birth and death, and it is in connection with the latter that three of the most important Iban feasts are held. Charms, which are the personal possession of the *manang*, are frequently used in the case of sickness; sometimes they are rubbed on that part of the body where the pain is felt, at other times they are dipped in water, which the patient afterwards drinks. In serious cases a fowl or a pig may be killed as an offering to the *antu*, or spirit, whose displeasure is the cause of the suffering. 756 [755] [782]

A *manang bali* is the highest rank to which a *manang* can attain and they are infrequent. "They are men who adopt and continuously wear woman's dress and behave in all ways like women, except that they avoid as far as possible taking any part in the domestic labour. They claim to have been told in dreams to adopt this mode of life; they are employed for the same purpose as the more ordinary *manangs*, and they practise similar methods" (Hose and McDougall, II, p. 116). Howell and Bailey say: "Even to the Dyak mind such a process is unnatural, and it is only undergone because of the command of the spirits who must be obeyed." These authors describe the initiation of a *manang bali* and state that after the ceremony "the *Manang Bali* apes the manners of a woman. He does all the work usually done by women. He sometimes even takes a 'husband' who is looked down upon by the community, and whose sole desire is to inherit his 'wife's' property as soon as possible. The *Manang Bali* may be said to have almost ceased to exist, among the down-river Dyaks, but the up-river people possess several recently made specimens!" (*S.D.D.*, 1901, p. 99). 756 838 [428]

292 727 E. H. Gomes (1911, p. 37) says *kalambi* "of a particular type can only be worn by men who have succeeded in securing a human head when on the warpath", but, as he does not give particulars, this statement does not help us; perhaps the *kalambi* illustrated by Hose, 1926, pl. p. 170, may be one of this kind—it is ornamented with two feathers of the hornbill, a bird everywhere associated with fighting.

It is somewhat rash to speculate upon what occasions a *kalambi* of this sort would be worn, but some of the embroidered figures seem to indicate that it was associated in some way with head-hunting.

727 825 796 One of the three principal ceremonial feasts of the Iban is *gawai burong* or *gawai pala*, "bird- or head-feast", as described by J. Perham in Ling Roth, I, p. 256; II, pp. 174 ff. When a house has obtained a head a great feast must be made sooner or later; it is not a mere matter of eating and drinking but there is much ceremony of offerings and songs, and Singalang Burong is invoked to attend. Before he can start he must call from the jungle his sons-in-law, who are the sacred birds which the Iban use as omens—hence the term *gawai burong*. The hawk (kite), *lang*, with brown body and white head and breast is a personification of Singalang Burong. The bird-chief and his dependents come from above to give to the men strength and bravery in war, and to the women luck with paddy, cleverness, and beauty. The ceremony is in fact a religious drama.

291 X531 35.906. An embroidered *kalambi*. This coat is cut in exactly the same way as the others, but has different motives which have been produced by embroidery (fig. 23). Width, 17½ in. (44·4 cm.); length from shoulder to hem, 22⅝ in. (57·4 cm.).

The body of the cloth is red with warp stripes grouped on the front and back: black, yellow, red, white, black, white, red, yellow, black; these are called *surik ular kendawang*, see pp. 29, 33. The width of these grouped stripes varies, broader bands appearing at the edges of the cloth.

The sleeves, which are made from the full width of the cloth, have no other decoration than the coloured warp stripes.

The edges of the jacket are bound with red flannel and at the neck and round the badge at the back an extra row of yellow flannel with vandyked edges is added.

The number of warp groups to the inch varies from 60–74, averaging

Pua, or blankets, which may be used on ceremonial occasions as well as for coverings, are frequently decorated with anthropomorphic and crocodile figures. We do not know whether there is any connection between the representations of crocodiles and the belief that spirits of the departed may choose crocodiles as abiding places.

The *kalambi*, or coats, particularly those worn by the men, are often ceremonial garments and are usually patterned chiefly with omen birds and animals, doubtless in order that their good influences may be experienced by the wearer. In such a highly specialised coat as 35.904 (pp. 37–46) the patterns suggest that it was worn by a man who conducted the most important of Iban feasts, and we suggest that it was the property of a *manang bali*.

The everyday garments, the *bidang* and the *sirat*, are decorated with less important motives.

Those on the *bidang* are more varied and interesting and consist chiefly of mammals, birds and other animals; there are also some plant motives, mostly the *bangkit* fruit and the *tangkong* creeper with its hanging blossoms. The crossed posts of houses and the wedge usually occur together, and there are examples of fire-places, a boat, and paddles. The arenga palm and mast ("acorn") patterns are frequently used in the borders and both are of importance in the daily life of the Iban, who make toddy and sugar from the juice of the flower and ropes from the black fibres of the trunk of the arenga. The pig is one of the animals always found in abundance near an Iban village, and the so-called "acorn" *empili* is really the nut-like fruit of a tree greatly liked by both tame and wild pigs, but "mast" is a better designation. The blossoms of the *bangkit*, and probably those of the *tangkong*, are sweet-smelling. The plants and flowers and the objects of material culture are all intimately connected with the needs of daily life, shelter, food and adornment.

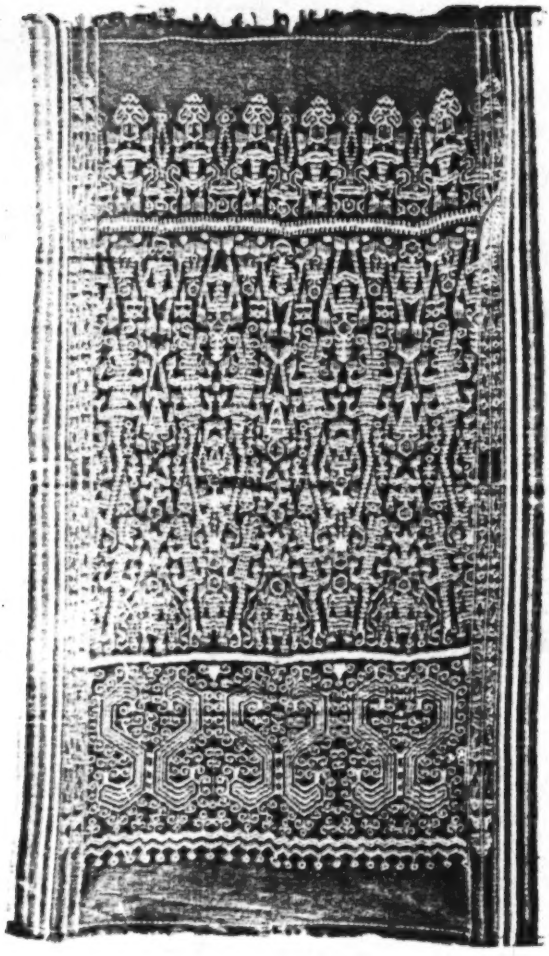
Many of the designs or patterns on the *sirat*, or loin-cloths of the men, are mainly or solely confined to them, and doubtless have a special reference to the pursuits (such as the paddy fields), dangers or interests that more particularly affect men. Very common are parts of the creatures that injure crops, such as pigeons or other birds, and locusts. A curious design is that called "sleeping cats".

It is characteristic of the Iban, as well as of other peoples in Borneo, that

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

Plate XXXIII

292
286
X531

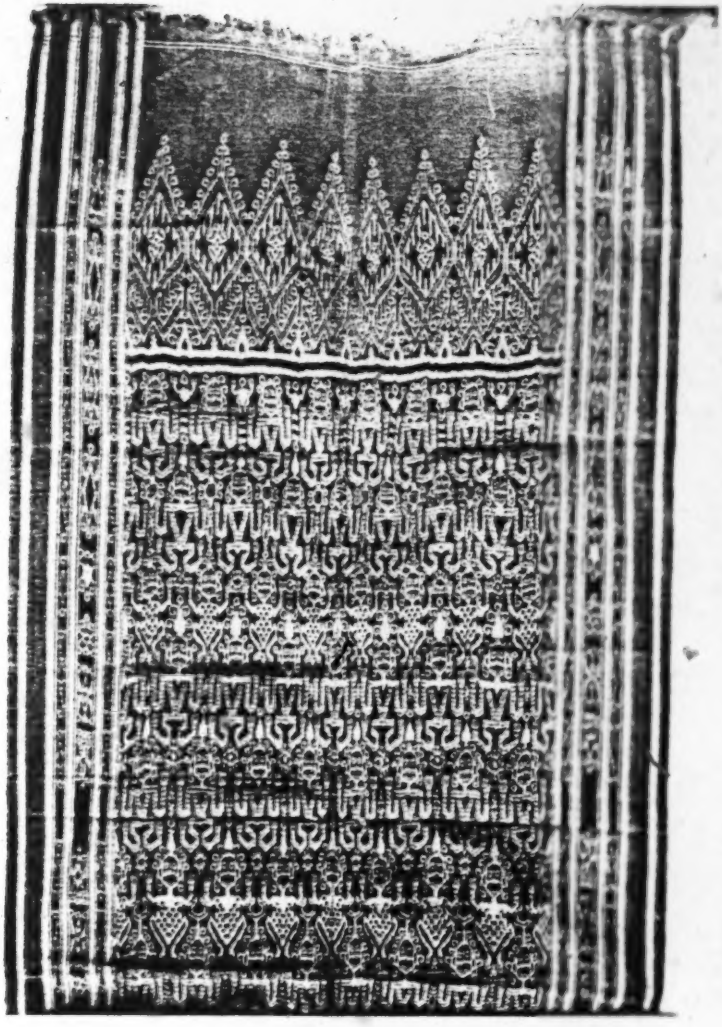


Pua 33.022, pp. 107, 108.

[end plate 33]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

292.
286
S31x



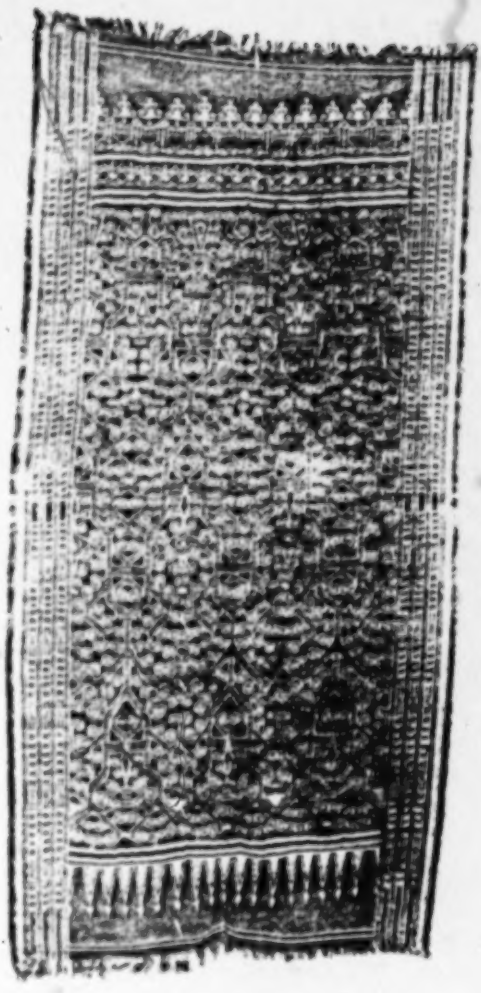
Pua 35.923, pp. 111, 112.

[end plate 34]

12: Haddon & Start E-4 (no date) 1936 OC6 Iban OC6

Plate XXXV

292
286
x 531



Pag 11 922, pp. 116–118.

[end plate 35]

batting an eyelid! Oh well, Dayaks are not the only people who like a try-on.

Dayaks are everywhere, in the streets, in the shops, on the wharves, on the padangs, and of course in the Government offices, where the cry of minta belanja, Tuan, rose like the wailing of a great multitude, and their outstretched palms were thick as the spears of Senacherib. All of them were in their smartest clothes, and weired and wonderful was the display of Iban finery, ranging from the dirty white trousers and co-respondent shoes of the "civilized" Dayaks (great are the blessings of education), to the resplendent chawats and gorgeous woven jackets of the upriver people. Hats shewed a like diversity, the most popular being a red fez wrapped with a kind of cloth-of-gold in which were stuck artifical flowers; but there were also other varieties, notably the "donkey's breakfast," of which there were one or two fine examples, and a kind of Homburg of a poisonous green tint, worn in some cases athwartships, and not fore-and-aft. This later style was most effective, and was indeed only rivalled by a Wolseley helmet of about 1887 vintage, which acted as a sort extinguisher to a Dayak of venerable aspect, whose long grey hairs rather clashed with the martial aspect of his head-gear.

Ornaments included the usual bead necklaces, silver chains and bangles, but the whole jaw of a honey-bear, embossed with gold and worn around the neck as a pendant, excited much favourable comment. Tiger-cat's teeth, too, were prominent, but earnings were not as good as might have been expected; it needed the Kayans to provide really good specimens of this form of decoration, and no Kayans had come down.